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ABSTRACT

Utilizing both content analysis of 139 editorials appearing in 19 United States daily newspapers and the results of a survey of 146 newspaper editors, a study asked three questions: (1) To what extent is hunger covered in the news and editorial columns of U.S. daily newspapers? (2) How is hunger defined as a problem in terms of its causes in those editorial columns? and (3) Does the U.S. press discuss domestic hunger differently from global hunger in terms of causes? The study concluded that editorials present hunger in America as primarily caused by dysfunctions in a system that is only temporarily malfunctioning, along with the perception that the politics and economics of the Reagan administration have led to an increased presence of hunger in America. Editorials on world hunger, written almost exclusively about famine in Africa, described conflicting political and economic societal interests as causes along with moral factors, especially in those nations whose governments the United States opposes. Papers appeared limited in their awareness of the geographic dimensions of hunger, as well as in their expression of moral causes as they apply to hunger in America. (Two tables of data are included; three appendixes showing the survey questionnaire, distribution information, and the cause factors of hunger, categories and subcategories, are attached. Eleven references conclude the study.) (SR)

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HOW THE DAILY PRESS LOOKS AT HUNGER

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HOW THE DAILY PRESS LOOKS AT HUNGER

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A S T R A C T

Utilizing both content analysis of editorials appearing in U.S. daily newspapers as well as the results of a survey of newspaper editors, this study asks:

1. To what extent is hunger covered in the news and editorial columns of U.S. daily newspapers?

2. How is hunger defined as a problem in terms of its causes in those editorial columns?

3. Does the U.S. press discuss domestic hunger differently from global hunger in terms of causes?

In probably the first study to examine the way the U.S. daily press discusses hunger, this paper presents initial findings of data derived from a survey of 146 daily newspapers randomly selected in a stratified sample by region and population, and from content analysis of 139 editorials on hunger published by 19 newspapers, primarily from cities of populations over 150,000.

The paper concludes that editorials present hunger in America as primarily caused by dysfunctions in a system that is only temporarily malfunctioning. About equally as important, however, is the perception that the politics and economics of the Reagan administration have led to an increased presence of hunger in America. Editorials on world hunger, written almost exclusively about famine in Africa, describe conflicting political and economic societal interests as causes along with moral factors, especially in those nations whose governments the United States opposes. Papers appear limited in their awareness of the geographic dimensions of hunger, as well as in their expression of moral causes as they apply to hunger in America.

How have newspapers in the United States dealt with the issue of hunger? This paper,[1] based upon an ongoing study[2] which examines this and additional data in greater detail, addresses three main questions:

1. To what extent is hunger covered in the news and editorial columns of U.S. daily newspapers?
2. How is hunger defined as a problem in terms of its causes in those editorial columns?
3. Does the U.S. press discuss domestic hunger differently from global hunger in terms of causes?

George Gerbner, in his classic 1964 work, has described for us the role of the perceptual dimension in shaping messages about events. An observer's perception of a particular event is significantly shaped by context, selection and availability. We can extend Gerbner's model here by pointing out that what is reported about the event is limited to what has been received through the observer's sense channels, shaped within the process of selection by attitudes and knowledge, and strongly influenced in context and availability by the observer's socio-cultural system (Berlo, 1960). These communication factors, Gerbner would

remind us, significantly shape the media system which exercises control over the final product within media channels. Influenced by Gerbner's model, this study examines both channel and message: the channel is the daily newspaper and its news and editorial columns; the message is the problem of hunger as it is defined in terms of its causes in editorials.

There are two parts to the study. The first part is based upon responses to a questionnaire by editors of 146 newspapers throughout the nation in localities ranging in size from towns of less than 10,000 residents to metropolitan centers such as Chicago and New York. The questionnaire asked editors a variety of questions which were designed to discover the extent to which their newspapers discussed hunger in news and editorial columns, where topics for editorials originated, and what other influences had been important in their coverage of hunger in both editorials and news stories. Questions asked specifically about local hunger, U.S. hunger, world hunger, and hunger in Africa, Asia and Central and South America, because we were interested to find out whether they covered hunger in different geographic locations to a greater or lesser extent. (See Appendix A for questions.)

The second part is devoted to content analysis of a sample of 139 editorials published in nineteen U.S.

daily newspapers. The editorials which we examined were coded in terms of their content. In this regard, we wanted to know how the newspapers defined hunger as a problem in terms of its causes.

THE QUESTIONNAIRES

A random, stratified sample of 500 daily newspapers, drawn from the 1985 edition of the IMS/Ayers Directory of Publications produced 146 responses to the questionnaire. The sample was stratified by geographic region. In addition, in an effort to have the largest population centers adequately represented in the sample, out of the 125 dailies sampled from each geographic region between 25 and 30 papers were randomly selected initially from among those cities of populations over 150,000 before drawing the remaining random sample. As a result, responses more than adequately represented the largest metropolitan areas, where dailies numbered their circulation in the millions. Distribution of questionnaire responses by population and geographic region is shown in Tables 1 and 2.[3]

TABLE 1
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

N	TOT %	CUM %	POP. SIZE
3	2.1	2.1	no answer
20	13.7	15.8	under 10,000
57	39.0	54.8	to 50,000
19	13.0	67.8	to 100,000
14	9.6	77.4	to 150,000
33	22.6	100.0	over 150,000

TABLE 2
REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

N	TOT %	CUM %	REGION
35	24.0	24.0	Northeast
30	20.5	44.5	North Central
35	24.0	68.5	West
46	41.5	100.0	South

THE EDITORIALS

Our sample was composed of editorials sent to us by 18 newspapers, plus all editorials on hunger generated by a search of the New York Times data base from 1979 through 1986 (n=18). The resulting sample totaled 139 editorials published since 1979, with the majority of them published between 1982 and 1986. While a sampling frame of 19 newspapers is admittedly small, the newspapers represent communities primarily in the largest population centers and all geographic regions. (See Appendix B for detailed breakdown of editorial sample.) This broad distribution suggests that the messages of these papers influence disproportionately large numbers of readers. For this reason, we assume that these editorials comprise a

sample that is representative as it reflects attitudes about causes of hunger as they are discussed in U.S. newspapers.[4]

When thematic messages were analyzed, focus was on the causes of hunger identified in the editorials, and what those perceived causes of hunger might reveal about the papers' perceptions of the problem of hunger generally. The method used here for drawing inferences about perceptions of causes of hunger has been thematic content analysis. The causes of hunger categories were based upon an earlier work (Robinson, 1987) which was organized into six major categories with 69 subcategories. For the purposes of this study, however, new major classifications were developed, and the existing subcategories were redistributed into the appropriate new four major categories. Where there were duplications in subcategories from the previous set of major categories, duplicate subcategories were eliminated. Although new subcategories (finally totalling 69) were added as they appeared in the material studied, the four major categories of hunger causes remained the same throughout the content analysis of editorials. (Appendix C for the complete set of categories, subcategories and their definitions.)

A priority for drawing inference was established based on the following analytic strategy which allowed

the thematic coder to conclude that a paragraph discussed a cause for hunger and then to place it in a hunger cause category:

1. Clear statement of hunger cause (includes use of terms "cause," "root cause," as well as phrases such as "hunger comes from," "hunger develops from," etc.)
2. Discussion of aid programs which we will assume for analytic purposes implies the addressing of a hunger cause by the program.
3. Subject/predicate structure of thematic idea in paragraph.
4. Key words which imply category relationships, (e.g. land, injustice, poverty,) given the context of analysis. (Robinson, 1987)

UNIT OF ANALYSIS

The paragraph was the unit of analysis for this study. All paragraphs in every editorial were coded. A total of 1,155 paragraphs were coded; of those, 945 paragraphs discussed hunger in some way. The task of the coder was to identify the theme of each paragraph and categorize it. Coders worked with a coding scheme developed in the earlier work cited (Robinson, 1987) which utilized a trilevel analytic scheme, and coded each paragraph for both major and subcategory.

CONTEXT OF ANALYSIS

The context of analysis was the total editorial being coded, and when possible all editorials submitted from that newspaper. It was essential that the coder gain a sense of that context before beginning to code any paragraphs.

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

A study of this type, dependent as it is upon the use of thematic categories in a content analytic method, must establish coder reliability. Prior to coding, extensive training and practise were necessary to prepare coders for the process of analysis. An 83% inter-rater agreement level for coding both major and subcategories, and a 95% inter-rater agreement level for coding only major categories (Borg & Gall, 1983) was achieved using the levels of analysis and the analytic strategy in the coding process.

"Informed judgment of the investigator" (Holsti, 1969, p. 143) very often establishes content or face validity. In the case of this work, the validity of the categories is derived from extensive background reading which informed the creation and defining of the categories and subcategories, the careful employment of concrete rather than abstract language as much as possible in the writing of the definitions, as well as care in the development of discrete rather than overlapping

categories.

CATEGORIES OF HUNGER CAUSES

Development of major categories and their subcategories for this analysis has evolved through a series of papers based on an earlier study (Robinson, 1987) which established the analytic system and the basic set of subcategories used here. The intention has been to lay a foundation for a later study of hunger policy and its relation to perceptions of causes of hunger. Dery (1984) emphasizes the connection between the way a problem is defined and the solutions proposed for it. Defining a problem is a process in which goals and values are chosen which are important, and goals and values are discarded which are not perceived as important. In engaging in a defining process one decides what qualifies as a solution, and selects the means that are considered appropriate for achieving that solution.

In light of Dery's points, I have sought through successive papers to rework the various subcategories which have emerged from an analysis of specialized press and here, of the daily press, in an effort to establish categories most applicable to policy perspectives. This approach was strongly influenced by the view that the mass media (and certainly the daily press) perform an agenda-setting function which influences the public's perceptions of social problems.

A first set of major categories (Robinson, 1987) divided subcategories according to concrete major topics (national, international and combined political and economic factors, moral factors, and natural factors) A second paper (Robinson, 1986) used the Etzioni theoretical model for classifying social problems (Etzioni, 1979). This was done in an effort to move classification of the causes of hunger into a more policy-oriented perspective. The major categories based on the Etzioni model were consensus and structural-functional approaches, conflict or alienation approaches, symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology, and neoconservatism. While these served to divide the subcategories theoretically, they were not focused sharply enough for policy analysis. The set of major categories presented here is strongly influenced by the Etzioni model, but has drawn upon significant concrete characteristics as they appear to influence policy rather than those aspects of the perspectives which are predominately abstract.

Following is an explication of the four major categories for causes of hunger employed in this study. The complete set of categories and subcategories with definitions can be found in Appendix C.

1 -- DYSFUNCTIONS WITHIN THE SOCIAL SYSTEM AS CAUSES OF HUNGER -- This perspective perceives the main source of social problems in technical failures of the social system which will be self-correcting as a result of the introduction or reinforcement of socialization, and the imposition of social control through rewards and punishments. This position perceives "individual and family pathology, deviant subcultures, or deficient educational institutions as the source of problematic behavior" (Etzioni, 1979 p. 8).

A subcategory here of particular note derives from what Etzioni referred to as neo-conservatism. It is significantly different from all other categories and subcategories in that it implies that hunger is not a significant problem. Etzioni points out that among the neo-conservatives "there is widespread agreement that poverty in America is a problem but one that has been greatly exaggerated. Inequality, on the other hand, is basically not a social problem; the real problem is that it has been perceived as such." (Etzioni, 1979, p. 32).

Other subcategories here refer to development factors as well as political/economic factors. Selected subcategories are: inadequate world-wide food reserves and production; absence of effective international food strategy; inadequate nutrition; inadequate agricultural

technology; inadequate industrial and small business development; lack of organization in poor communities.

2 -- CONFLICTING POLITICAL/ECONOMIC SOCIETAL INTERESTS AS CAUSES OF HUNGER -- This perspective sees "illegitimate social control and exploitation" as the source of social problems. (Etzioni, 1979, p. 10). Class is central to social life, and opposing economic and political interests produce problems. This category refers primarily to political and/or economic factors both in those nations where major proportions of population are hungry, and in the United States or other countries not normally labeled "hungry nations" where nevertheless sizeable portions of population are hungry as well. In this category are also found political and/or economic aspects of international relationships perceived as linked to the presence of hunger in "hungry nations."

Selected subcategories are: World system/international conditions such as institutions, policies, neo-colonialist trade relations; U.S. national interests such as military security, foreign policy, economic interests of U.S. industries; special national political interests; special national economic interests.

3 -- CULTURAL, MORAL AND ETHICAL FACTORS AS CAUSES OF HUNGER -- This perspective "sees critical problems not only in reaching agreement on the moral, substantive side, but also, on the cognitive side of communication," (Etzioni, 1979, p. 17). Most of the subcategories here relate to ethical and moral causes, especially those strongly connected to cultural norms such as custom, religion, and law. Selected subcategories are: absence of community; lack of sharing or greed; lack of commitment; inaction; lack of information about hunger for those who aren't hungry.

4 -- NATURAL FACTORS AS CAUSES -- This category includes all of those conditions which are perceived as products of nature, rather than products of human behavior. In order to keep the report of the analytic study complete, such hunger cause factors are: Climate/weather; famine/emergency; inadequate land for agricultural purposes;insufficient natural supplies of water; unsafe water; overpopulation/food supply; insufficient sources of fish.

RESULTS

Responses to the questionnaires revealed clearly that the most recent famine in Africa during the past decade and the resulting publicity about that famine during recent years - especially on national television

- had significantly raised the awareness of editors as well as their readers to the presence of hunger on the African continent. This topic of African hunger had been influential in sharpening an awareness of the existence of hunger elsewhere, especially at home in America. Editors commented that the presence of and nationwide publicity about the African famine had led to their publishing editorials about that situation, and had also been an influence in the discussion of hunger at home. Editors' assessments of their editorial coverage of world hunger or hunger in Africa compared with their perception of coverage of hunger in America indicated they believed that they tended to do each at about the same level. There was a positive correlation between the extent of coverage of world hunger and U.S. hunger in editorials ($r=.731$, $p<.001$). The correlation between editorials on African hunger and U.S. hunger was .780 (r, $p<.001$). Our sample of editorials, however, revealed that the number of editorials on domestic hunger were roughly double those on world hunger (world hunger=29.5%, U.S. hunger=59.7%). While this result disagrees with the perceptions of editors, it may be effected by the voluntary nature of the sample of editorials, (although, of course, response to the questionnaires was self-selecting in that respect as well.)

Editors perceived that they were writing editorials and news stories about world hunger in about the same amount as they were writing about African hunger. The correlation between news stories about African hunger and world hunger was .674 (r, $p<.001$). The correlation between editorials on African hunger and world hunger was .824 (r, $p<.001$). Data relating to editorials on hunger in Asia and Central and South America indicate that editorials on hunger in those regions were written only minimally. This conclusion was strongly supported by the content analysis of editorials submitted for study. Although the sample of editorials did not match exactly the questionnaire responses in terms of population and regional representation, correlation between the focus of editorials upon world hunger with a discussion of hunger on the African continent was .850 (r, $p<.001$). 89.8% of those editorials which discussed world hunger focused upon Ethiopia, other African nations, or the African famine. Responses to the questionnaires also indicated that hunger in Asia and Central and South America was discussed only to a very limited degree in news stories. The strong positive correlations support a conclusion that editors more often tended to equate world hunger with African hunger, and that their awareness of the geographic dimensions of hunger was seriously limited.

When we examined the relationships between editorials about U.S. hunger and editorials about hunger in the papers' local community, we again found a positive correlation, ($r=.783$, $p<.001$). There was also a positive correlation between news coverage of U.S. hunger and local hunger ($r=.554$, $p<.001$).

These positive correlations reinforce the observation that awareness of the existence of hunger in one place becomes influential in an expanding awareness of hunger elsewhere. In this regard, a major role also was played by the personal consciousness of editors. A number of them commented that their own social concern, along with previous life experiences, often influenced them to address hunger issues.

Our content analysis of editorials submitted revealed that the most common way in which editorials dealt with hunger in America was to see it as a result of dysfunctions in what was otherwise an effective social, political and economic system. In 56.6% of the editorials, dysfunctions were perceived as causing hunger in America. Of those editorials, 42.5% highly emphasized this major category. They identified causes such as poverty due to inadequate income, inadequate local food distribution, or lack of food source information, to name a few. These are causes which are perceived as a result of technical failures in the system

which can be corrected in a relatively short time through adjustments in the pathology of the individual or family, or by upgrading inefficient social institutions such as education. Much of this approach is strongly influenced by the "blame the victim" school of thought that says if we do enough different things to the hungry family or individual, the problem will go away. While the need to feed the hungry demands immediate attention, and corrections are needed as well by ineffective social institutions, these solutions by themselves often serve to cope with the problem only temporarily.

Another perception of the problem which belongs in this larger category comes from the neo-conservative view of the world. This perception usually denies the existence of social problems in America generally, but if there is an acknowledgement of a problem, the assumption is that its dimensions have been substantially exaggerated, and that in spite of its existence it is not the responsibility of government. An excellent example of this view is expressed in a letter which an editor sent in response to the questionnaire. In this letter he outlined the neo-conservative position, and said that his paper supported the policies of President Reagan. (Letter is quoted extensively in note.)[5] Although there were no editorials representing this news-

paper in the sample (primarily because such a perspective does not usually produce editorials on hunger,) the letter is reported here because we believe this view probably represents a significant number of other papers which were not as generous as was this editor in sharing his editorial policy.

The second most often referred to category for causes of hunger in America found in the editorials was conflicting societal interests, with an emphasis on the politics and economics of the Reagan administration. 55.4% of the editorials referred to this category,[6] with high emphasis in 58.7% of those. A number of editors referred to "Reagan economics" as having resulted in cuts in federal funding of social programs, which had made hunger more evident and the need for a local response more urgent.

When editorials dealt with world hunger, that is hunger outside of the United States, they most often referred to conflicting societal interests (62.7%) and cultural, moral and ethical factors (62.7%) as causes. A faqtor strongly influencing reference to both of these categories may well be that the majority of editorials written about world hunger focused upon Ethiopia and the famine there. When hunger existed in a country such as Ethiopia, run by a socialist government (which our own government opposes), editors tended more read-

ily to focus upon structural factors. A few examples of such causes are political and economic oppression, maldistribution of food due to political ideologies, special national military security interests, special national political interests.

Editors strongly expressed their moral concerns about hunger in Africa and the corruption of the Ethiopian government. The graphic images appearing during recent years on telecasts about Ethiopia, as well as the organized efforts of Live Aid and Band Aid -- concerts televised nationally and internationally to raise funds for African famine victims -- had been significant in raising the consciousness of Americans of all ages. Starvation from famine, which is a stark and readily apparent tragic condition, also may have led to the high incidence of moral causes attributed to world hunger by editorials. In contrast, hunger generally and conditions of malnutrition at home and abroad, may have been perceived as less dramatic in their impact upon those who were not their victims. In those editorials which commented on the concerts, references were made to a need for commitment and action. Lack of commitment, absence of community, inaction or apathy tended to be referred to most often in relation to world hunger. While moral causes were referred to in 38.5% of the editorials dealing with hunger in America, that

this perception was more frequently applied to world hunger is interesting and deserving of further examination.

Comments by editors responding to our questionnaire indicated a very strong connection between coverage of the issue of hunger and news leads. In terms of world hunger, as mentioned before, the famine in Africa was extremely influential. On the local scene in their own towns and cities, what they perceived as an increase in unemployment and homelessness, along with related hunger, were identified often as influences.

Editors thought that a greater awareness generally, about world and U.S. hunger had been an important influence in their coverage of the subject. National and local organizations, including many affiliated with churches, were identified by respondents as also having been influential, either because of the groups' work locally, or because of the information which they provided to the paper regarding hunger, its existence and its causes.

It is clear that editorial policies are highly influential in shaping coverage of hunger. While it is true that the presence of timely news items serves to focus greater attention on the problem, an editor and staff can choose whether or not to cover it, and certainly may not necessarily comment editorially on the

subject. One editor noted concisely, "Conservative publishers don't like to hear about hunger." Another said, "The war on poverty and social issues seem to have receded, replaced by emphasis on increasing wealth. The world food surplus has removed an enthusiasm for a sense of impending world famine." This latter comment clearly reveals the need for increased efforts to raise the awareness of editors to the nature of hunger as a problem and the specific ways in which it exists around the globe.

In the future, papers based on data from this study of the daily press will address a variety of topics not covered here. Among such topics will be: regional differences in the discussion of hunger; greater detailed analysis of subcategories of hunger causes as they were referred to in editorials; discussion of groups perceived by editors as influential in their coverage of hunger. While a great deal which one might have expected was reinforced in this paper, four points emerge as significant in summary:

1. Editorials tend to present hunger in America as primarily caused by dysfunctions in a system that is essentially effective, but is only temporarily malfunctioning. About equally as important, however, was the

perception that the politics and economics of the Reagan administration have led to an increased presence of hunger in America.

2. In terms of world hunger, editorials tend more often to describe conflicting political and economic societal interests as causes along with moral factors, especially where hunger exists in those nations whose governments the United States opposes.

3. In regard to world hunger, editors and their staffs need to enlarge their awareness of the global dimensions of hunger, and to recognize that there is extreme hunger, malnutrition and starvation in Africa, but that they are in Asia, and Central and South America as well.

4. The limited extent to which moral causes are perceived as related to U.S. hunger suggests a need to raise editors' level of moral response to comment not only on causes such as lack of commitment or apathy, but also upon injustice, greed and corruption: moral causes which are seldom discussed in relation to hunger in our own nation.

APPENDIX A
QUESTIONS IN DAILY PRESS QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Please check the geographic region where you are located:
Northeast __ (ME, NH, VT, MA, RI, CT, NY, NJ, PA.)
North Central __(OH, IN, IL, MI, WI, MN, IA, MO, ND, SD, NB, KS)
West __(MT, ID, WY, CO, NM, AZ, UT, NV, WA. OR, CA, AK, HI)
South __(DE, MD, DC, VA, WV, NC, SC, GA, FL, KY, TN, AL, MS, AR, LA, OK, TX)

2. Please check the category for population in the town or city where you are located.
Under 10,000 ___ 50,001 to 100,000 ___ Over 150,000 __
10,001 to 50,000 ___ 100,001 to 150,000 ___

For questions 3 through 14, circle the position on the bar from not at all to extensively which applies to your newspaper.
To what extent have you covered the following topics in your news columns?

3. Hunger in your local community?
4. Hunger in the U.S.?
5. Hunger in Africa?
6. Hunger in Asia?
7. Hunger in Central and South America?
8. World Hunger?

To what extent have you commented editorially on the following topics?

9. Hunger in your local community?
10. Hunger in the U.S.?
11. Hunger in Africa?
12. Hunger in Asia?
13. Hunger in Central and South America?
14. World hunger?

Indicate whether your coverage and commentary on the following topics have increased or decreased since 1979?

15. Hunger in your local community
16. Hunger in the U.S.
17. Hunger in Africa
18. Hunger in Asia
19. Hunger in Central and South America
20. World hunger
21. Are the topics for editorials about hunger
    Suggested by publisher?____
    Suggested by editorial staff?___
    Suggested by other newspaper staff?___
    Suggested by organizations outside the newspaper?___
        If by organization(s) please indicate the name(s) of the organization(s) or titles of contact person(s) in the space below.
    Other ____
    If other, please describe that source in the space below.
22. Please comment in the space below on the influences which have led to greater or lesser news coverage on hunger issues, or to greater or lesser editorial comment on hunger issues in your newspaper.

APPENDIX B
DISTRIBUTION OF EDITORIALS BY REGION AND POPULATION

	SOURCE	REGION	POPULATION	N
1.	Unknown	South	to 100,000	1
2.	Louisiana	South	to 100,000	2
3.	Shreveport, LA	South	to 150,000	18
4.	New York, NY	Northeast	over 150,000	11
5.	Fort Wayne, IN	North Central	over 150,000	12
6.	Utica, NY	Northeast	to 100,000	6
7.	Indiana	North Central	to 50,000	1
8.	Unknown	West	over 150,000	2
9.	near Syracuse, NY	Northeast	to 50,000	8
10.	Cincinatti, OH	North Central	over 150,000	4
11.	Boston, MA	Northeast	over 150,000	17
12.	San Gabriel, CA	West	to 150,000	6
13.	Fort Worth, TX	South	over 150,000	4
14.	Anchorage, AK	West	over 150,000	8
15.	Pittsfield, MA	Northeast	to 100,000	8
16.	Memphis, TN	South	over 150,000	10
17.	Schenectady, NY	Northeast	to 100,000	7
18.	New York, NY	Northeast	over 150,000	18
19.	Charlotte, NC	South	over 150,000	12

DISTRIBUTION OF EDITORIALS BY POPULATION

POPULATION	N	%
to 50,000	9	6.5
to 150,000	48	34.5
over 150,000	82	59.0
Totals	139	100.0

DISTRIBUTION OF PAPERS SENDING EDITORIALS BY REGION AND POPULATION

N	%	REGION	N	%	POPULATION
7	36.8	Northeast	2	10.5	to 50,000
3	15.8	North Central	7	36.8	to 150,000
3	15.8	West	10	52.6	over150,000
6	31.6	South			
19	100.0	Totals	19	99.9	Totals

APPENDIX C
CAUSE FACTORS OF HUNGER
CATEGORIES AND SUBCATEGORIES

I - DYSFUNCTIONS AS CAUSES OF HUNGER WITHIN THE SOCIAL SYSTEM -- This category refers to development factors, but also includes political/economic factors as well.

This category assumes that the political, social and economic system is effective, but that technical failures within aspects of the system have contributed to the existence of the problem. It perceives pathology of the individual and family, along with deviant subcultures or educational institutions which are inefficient as causes of problems. Solutions most often focus on re-education or socialization along with the imposition of social control through rewards and punishment especially within institutions which are perceived as malfunctioning, as well as mechanistic or technological changes that can be achieved in a relatively short time.

I-1INADEQUATE FOOD DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM
(Refers to absence of distributional connections between large surpluses of food in some countries and starvation in other countries.)

I-2INADEQUATE WORLDWIDE FOOD RESERVES AND PRODUCTION
(Refers to condition in the international food system sometimes also linked to energy shortages and costs as well as changing national demands and changing international food resources.)

I-3EXCESSIVE DEPENDENCE ON IMPORTED GRAINS AND OTHER FOODS
(Refers to very large proportion of grains used by people in the nation which is imported from other countries, often leading to inadequate local agricultural system for domestic consumption.)

I-4INADEQUATE NUTRITION
(Refers to those foods, considered necessary for a basic human diet, which are available to hungry people in insufficient quantities. Refers also to excessive consumption of non-nutritious foods which constributes to inadequate diet.)

I-5ABSENCE OF FAMILY PLANNING POLICY
(Refers to no identifiable national program to limit population growth.)

I-6INADEQUATE CARE OF WATER
(Refers to inadequate purification techniques for water as well as inadequate drilling processes, etc., in nations with hungry people.)

I-7INADEQUATE AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM
(Refers to agricultural system as a whole, perceived as underdeveloped or as not functioning to meet national needs.)

I-8ABSENCE OF EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL FOOD STRATEGY
(Refers to lack of overall international plan for feeding the world's population, including an ability to analyze accurately and predict food import needs.)

I-9ABSENCE OF APPROPRIATE RESEARCH

(Refers to research needed to produce new seeds, planting methods, etc., to aid in development.
I-10INADEQUATE AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY
(Refers to absence of or insufficient amounts of modern agricultural equipment, as well as the absence of or insufficient amounts of technologically advanced agricultural techniques and practises for use in the nation with hungry people. Also includes established farming practises perceived as ecologically unsound.)
I-11INADEQUATE TRANSPORTATION
(Refers to absence of or insufficient supply of vehicles-trucks, trains, planes-for the transportation of food to needy regions of a nation; also inadequate roadways.)
I-12POVERTY DUE TO UNDERDEVELOPMENT
(Refers to the existence of poverty within a nation because of primitive technology or inadequate political, social or economic institutions.)
I-13POVERTY DUE TO INSUFFICIENT INCOME
(Refers to presence of poverty based upon conditions which result in individuals, groups or nations receiving insufficient financial income. Does not refer to inequality as a condition.)
I-14INADEQUATE POLITICAL SYSTEM
(Refers to need for more complex political institution and/or planning within the nation or community to deal with problems of hunger. Also refers to inadequacies of bureaucratic system.)
I-15INADEQUATE INDUSTRIAL AND SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT (Refers to need for greater industrialization as well as small business development within the nation with hungry people which will lead to greater productivity.)
I-16INADEQUATE FUNDING FOR DEVELOPMENT
(Refers to need for funding sources in order to finance development projects adequately, including self-help projects.)
I-17INADEQUATE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM
(Refers to need for development of educational system to help the hungry people of a nation become more informed.)
I-18INADEQUATE GRASS-ROOTS INVOLVEMENT IN DEVELOPMENT
(Refers especially to absence of local food self-sufficiency on a small scale, local input into development planning, and culturally appropriate methods.)
I-19INADEQUATE OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN
(Refers to absence of opportunities for women to develop their capabilities; often focused on because of active role of women in farming industry in developing countries.)
I-20OVERPOPULATION/DEVELOPMENT
(Refers to role of overpopulation as impediment to development; refers also to absence of family planning programs.)
I-21INADEQUATE LOCAL FOOD DISTRIBUTION
(Refers to need for improved or introduction of food distribution system for those in hungry population.)
I-22MALDISTRIBUTION OF FOOD DUE TO WAR-RELATED CONDITIONS
(Refers to unequal distribution of food supplies throughout the population arising as a result of involvement in war either

currently or in the recent past,which contributes to the presence of hunger.)
I-23INADEQUATE FOOD DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM
(Refers especially to inability of rural producers to get to urban consumers and vice versa.)
I-24INADEQUATE FOOD RESERVES
(Refers to not enough food put aside by a nation so as to feed its population during times of natural shortages, or other times when food supplies are unusually short.)
I-25DIMINISHED FOOD PRODUCTION
(Refers to diminished quantities of food produced within the nation with hungry people.)
I-26 INSUFFICIENT CASH CROPS
(Refers to absence of production of cash crops which does not allow small farmers to continue to farm.)
I-27LACK OF FOOD SOURCE INFORMATION
(Refers to insufficient information about food sources available to hungry people.)
I-28OVERPOPULATION/FOOD SUPPLY
(Refers to increases in the population size which make the supply of food present in the nation insufficient.)
I-29NEO-CONSERVATIVE CAUSE PERCEPTIONS
(This category essentially denies the existence of social problems. If there is an acknowledgement of a problem, the assumption is that the dimensions of the problem have been substantially exaggerated, and that in spite of its existence, it is not the province of government to deal with it. The assumption here is that private industry or philanthropic organizations will seek solutions.)
I-30INADEQUATE FAMINE PREDICTION
(Refers to poor system for predicting impending famine, either locally or internationally.)

II -- CONFLICTING POLITICAL/ECONOMIC SOCIETAL INTERESTS AS CAUSES OF HUNGER -- This category refers primarily to political/economic factors, both in those nations where major proportions of population are hungry, and in the United States or other countries not normally labeled "hungry nations" where nevertheless sizeable portions of population are hungry as well. In this category are also found political and/or economic aspects of international relationships perceived as linked to the presence of hunger in "hungry nations."

This perspective sees "illegitimate social control and exploitation" as the source of social problems. Social class and opposing class interests produce problems. Solutions most often deal with restructuring basic systems, and entail long term efforts.

II-1MALDISTRIBUTION OF FOOD DUE TO POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES
(Refers to unequal distribution of food supplies as a result of differences in ideological perspectives which influence the withholding of food from specific segments of the population of the nation by governmenmental or other groups able to provide such food.)

II-2 MALDISTRIBUTION OF LAND DUE TO LOCAL SYSTEM
(Refers to land distributed unequally or to only a segment of the population from among potential users in the nation due to plantation system or similar feudal style system, resulting in some people with extremely large land holdings and others with little or none.)
II-3MALDISTRIBUTION OF LAND DUE TO CASH CROPS
(Refers to land distributed unequally or to only a segment of the population from among potential users resulting in extremely large proportions of land for growing crops for export such as sugar, peanuts, coffee, and/or cash sale rather than for subsistence. Includes participation of transnational corporations in holding and use of such land.)
II-4MALDISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY
(Refers to distribution of agricultural technology unequally among potential users in the nation.)
II-5MALDISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENT FARM SUBSIDIES
(Refers to unequal government funding of farm subsidies among potential farmers.)
II-6CHANGING AGRICULTURAL MARKET PATTERNS
(Refers to local markets shifting from crops to fuel wood and cow dung as sales items, because of market demand.)
II-7ABUSE OF NATURAL RESOURCES
(Seen as connected to improper farming and fishing practises; deforestation; related to shifting from use of land for growing grain to grazing livestock. Also seen as related to pollution of air, land and water by industry.)
II-8URBANIZATION
(Urban development moving onto land needed for agriculture, as well as trends in population movement to cities.)
II-9LACK OF ORGANIZATION IN POOR COMMUNITIES
(Refers to inadequate political organization of the local poor community which would otherwise help them to meet their own political and economic needs.)
II-10POVERTY/INEQUALITY
(Refers to conditions of poverty due to unequal distribution of wealth, power or opportunity within the hungry nation.)
II-11SPECIAL NATIONAL MILITARY SECURITY INTERESTS
(Refers to military policy decisions perceived as linked budgetarily to the presence or absence of hunger, made predominately within the nation with hungry people even when external factors may be involved.
II-12SPECIAL NATIONAL AND LOCAL ECONOMIC INTERESTS
(Refers to economic policy decisions perceived as linked to choices which focus national economic efforts in areas which either exacerbate or do little or nothing to relieve conditions of hunger.)
II-13SPECIAL NATIONAL AND LOCAL POLITICAL INTERESTS
(Refers to policy decisions made to protect political interests of people in power which exacerbate or do little or nothing to relieve conditions of hunger. Includes neo-conservatism when perceived as cause.)

II-14OVERDEVELOPMENT AS A PRODUCT OF ECONOMIC POLICY
(Refers to conditions of overdevelopment and agricultural overproduction seen as related to economic decisions.)
II-15POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ELITISM
(Refers to political/economic domination within the nation by a small group of people or organizations, and also to domination of the international community politically and/or economically by a small group of nations or organizations.)
II-16POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC OPPRESSION
(Refers to act of denying political/economic opportunities to segments of the population by those in power, as well as the act of denying political and/or economic opportunities to nations or regional groups of nations by other more powerful nations or groups of nations.)
II-17WORLD SYSTEM/INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
(Refers to international organizations such as the U.N., World Bank, International Monetary Fund, which make policies or decisions affecting the conditions of nations with hungry people.)
II-18WORLD SYSTEM/INTERNATIONAL POLICIES
(Refers to policies (e.g. regarding development, agricultural or food aid, etc.) written by any nation or group of nations, which has impact upon other nations with hungry people.)
II-19NEO-COLONIALIST TRADE RELATIONS
(Refers to the trade relations between First World and Third World nations which appear to be only a modification of their earlier colonial connections, implying similar dependencies in their present relationship.)
II-20U.S. MILITARY SECURITY INTERESTS
(Refers to military decisions, such as perceived need to protect the territorial interests of the U.S., decisions regarding food, agricultural or developmental assistance tied to mutual defense pacts, or choices related to the production of weapons which are perceived as related to budgetary issues involving programs for the hungry.)
II-21U.S. FOREIGN POLICY
(Refers to special interests of the U.S. and U.S. relations with other nations, including on-going policy, which is tied to aid or support of countries with hungry people.)
II-22U.S. ECONOMIC INTERESTS
(Refers to decisions influenced by U.S. industries, concerned with export of product as well as use of resources of other nations, affecting hunger policy.)
II-23NON-PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL FREE MARKET SYSTEM
(Refers to the presence of an economic system in a nation which results in non-participation in the free market economy.)

III -- CULTURAL, MORAL AND ETHICAL CAUSE FACTORS --
Most of the subcategories here relate to ethical and moral causes, especially those strongly related to cultural norms such as custom, religion and law which result often in attitudes which affect solutions sought for problems.

III-1IMPOSITION OF DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES BY OUTSIDERS
(Refers to extra-cultural practises and technology imposed upon people of a hungry nation by external factors, especially as opposed to aid which enables local cultural practises to dominate development process.)
III-2LACK OF INFORMATION
(Refers to insufficient awareness on the part of people in First World countries about the conditions of hunger in their own countries and elsewhere. Also includes misrepresentation about the extent to which the problem exists.)
III-3ABSENCE OF COMMUNITY
(Refers to absence of sense of inter-connectedness, of belonging to a world community, especially on the part of the people of the First World.)
III-4LACK OF SHARING (GREED)
(Refers to lack of sharing of food, wealth, knowledge, etc.)
III-5LACK OF COMMITMENT
(Refers to absence of sense of dedication to deal with the problem of hunger, and includes lack of involvement by individuals as well as groups in the movement to solve problems of hunger.)
III-6IMMORALITY
(Refers to behavior which is opposed to that which is most often perceived as holding to society's accepted ethical principles. Includes lack of compassion.)
III-7CORRUPTION
(Refers to unscrupulous, fraudulent or dishonest behavior.)
III-8INJUSTICE
(Refers to that which involves unfair treatment of people or nations.)
III-9INACTION/APATHY
(Refers to the lack of action to deal with the problem of hunger.)
III-10LACK OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
(Refers to lack of acknowledgement of the existence of hunger as a problem. Most often applied to neo-conservative perceptions of hunger.)

IV - NATURAL FACTORS AS CAUSES --
This category includes all of those conditions which are perceived as products of nature, rather than products of human behavior.
IV-1CLIMATE/WEATHER
(Refers to ongoing climatic conditions or periodic weather problems which create insufficient crops to feed a hungry nation.)
IV-2FAMINE/EMERGENCY
(Refers to famine conditions which arise as an emergency and therefore create or contribute to the presence of hunger.)
IV-3INADEQUATE LAND FOR AGRICULTURAL PURPOSES
(Refers to insufficient quantities of good land as well as too much damaged land used for agricultural purposes in nations with hungry people.)

IV-4INSUFFICIENT NATURAL SUPPLIES OF WATER
(Refers to insufficient quantities of water from natural sources.)
IV-5UNSAFE WATER
(Refers to the presence of contaminated water supplies.)
IV-6INSUFFICIENT SOURCES OF FISH
(Refers to inadequate amounts of fish available for eating from natural waters.)

V-GENERAL/HUNGER
This category refers to general comments about hunger which do not discuss causes for the existence of the problem.

NOTES

[1] A number of colleagues at CSR have contributed significantly to this work. Conrad Crasto and Richard Wunderlich were especially generous in sharing their expertise in computers and statistics. Frank Fitzgerald urged me to reexamine the major categories of hunger causes, and was helpful in that process. Mary-Lou McDonald and Mary Allen worked quickly and effectively to get the questionnaires in the mail, and Barbara Curtin was helpful in a variety of ways too numerous to mention. Sylvia Frank continued to assist most competently in the content analysis. Freeman Robinson as always was both critic and supporter, keeping me in touch with the real world when I needed it most. To all for their help I extend my fondest thanks. For any omissions or errors, however, I claim full responsibility.

[2] This study was supported in part by a reduction in teaching load during Fall 1986.

[3] In relation to population distribution according to regions within the United States, all regions are proportionately over-represented in our sample of questionnaires, with the exception of the North Central region. The lower relative response from papers in this region may be due to the significant emphasis placed on the farm crisis in North Central states. While this

seems to be a subject which is strongly related to hunger, it may not be perceived as such by editors. Population distribution within the U.S. is: Northeast=21%; North Central=26%; West=19%; South=33/2%.

[4] The extremely small sample (n=18) of editorials generated by a data base search of eight years of New York Times is probably symptomatic of the limited attention paid to the topic of hunger by daily newspapers in their editorial columns generally.

[5] "Both the famine in Africa and the alleged widespread hunger in America have inspired increased news coverage on hunger issues, as well as editorial comment. Indirectly, the so-called farm crisis has done both, while the issue of food stamps and other forms of public assistance have inspired increased editorial comment. ...On domestic hunger, we believe it is exaggerated for political purposes,... We know welfare abuse is rampant, though now reduced, and we advocate 'workfare' when possible. We generally oppose continued farm subsidies as self-defeating. We strongly support President Reagan and most of his views."

[6] Conflicting political/economic societal interests held a close second in causes of hunger in America, only 1.2% behind dysfunctions in the system.

[7] A note penned on the single editorial sent by

this metropolitan newspaper said, "We only ran 1."

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